

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-15 TRSE-00 EB-07 /097 W
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P R 151601Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8773
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 20245

GENEVA FOR WISNER

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK
SUBJECT: BRITISH PRESS ON GENEVA TALKS, DECEMBER 15

1. FAIRLY HEAVY COVERAGE OF THE RHODESIAN SITUATION
TODAY. MAJOR POINTS ARE THAT IVOR RICHARDS IS BEING
DISPATCHED ON A KISSINGER-LIKE SHUTTLE, SPECULATION
THAT ANGLO-AMERICAN STRATEGY IS TO USE THE LAME DUCK
STATUS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION TO PUT INDIRECT
PRESSURE ON SMITH, AND A FEELING AMONG SOME GENEVA DELE-
GATES THAT SMITH NOW REALLY WANTS A SETTLEMENT.

2. GUARDIAN DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT PATRICK KEATLEY:
"THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, MR. CORSLAND, IS DISPATCHING...
IVOR RICHARD ON A DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA--
SIMILAR TO THE SO-CALLED SHUTTLES OF DR. KISSINGER. THE
KEY CAPITAL (ON THE TOUR) WILL BE PRETORIA...EARLY IN
JANUARY.... IF, AS EXPECTED, WASHINGTON HAS BY THAT TIME
GAINED THE AGREEMENT OF MR. VORSTER TO GIVE MAXIMUM
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SUPPORT TO THIS ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE, THEN THIS WILL

BE THE MOMENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO APPLY PRESSURE ON THE
OBDURATE AND TENACIOUS MEN OF MR. SMITH'S GOVERNMENT IN
SALISBURY.... THE ANGLO-AMERICAN STRATEGY IS TO TURN THE
'LAME DUCK' STATUS OF DR. KISSINGER AND THE FORD ADMINIS-
TRATION TO ADVANTAGE BY POINTING OUT TO THE INTRANSIGENT
WHITE RHODESIANS THAT THEY WILL FIND A POTENTIALLY
TOUGHER ATTITUDE IN WASHINGTON WHEN MR. CARTER TAKES
POWER."

3. GUARDIAN EDITORIAL: "IT HAS BECOME DOUBTFUL WHETHER
THE PRESSURE NEEDED TO RELEASE MR. SMITH FROM HIS MIS-
UNDERSTANDINGS CAN BE APPLIED IN GENEVA. DR. KISSINGER
MIGHT HAVE DONE IT, BUT HE HAS LEFT AFRICA FOR GOOD. THE
BIG QUESTION IS WHETHER MR. VORSTER IS READY TO USE AGAIN
THE POWERFUL ARGUMENTS HE USED WHEN HE STOOD AT DR. KISSINGER'S SIDE.
IT IS NOT ONLY IN PRETORIA
THAT MR. RICHARD MUST ASK A FEW QUESTIONS AND LAY DOWN A
FEW LAWS. HE NEEDS AN ASSURANCE FROM ALL THE FRONT-LINE
PRESIDENTS, NOT JUST THE MORE AMENABLE ONES, THAT THEY
SEE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION, NOT A BLOODY ONE."

4. GUARDIAN CORRESPONDENT JAMES MACMANUS LE EPAWQWZ IS THE SECOND
STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE IS TO SUCCEED THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL SOMEHOW HAVE TO REPEAT DR.
KISSINGER'S FEAT IN PERSUADING SOUTH AFRICA TO TIGHTEN
THE LOGISTIC SCREWS ON SALISBURY. THERE WILL BE LITTLE
IF ANY POINT IN GETTING ACCEPTANCE AMONG THE NATIONALIST
AND THE FRONT-LINE AFRICAN STATES FOR BRITAIN'S OWN PRO-
POSALS ON AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IF MR. SMITH DECIDES TO
FORGET THE EMBODIED DELIGHTS OF A SECT OF STATE COUNSELMEN
ALTHOUGH THE WHITE LEADERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAVE REASONS
FOR DIGGING IN THEIR HEELS AT THE MOMENT. THE RHODESIAN
PRIME MINISTER HAS BEEN TOLD RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY BY HIS
OWN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS THAT HIS ARMY CAN FIGHT
ITS WAY THROUGH THE LATEST MINORILLY TENSION AS WELL AS THAT
BRITAIN CAN EXPECT A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN THE COMING
YEAR.
THE RHODESIAN LEADER APPEARS TO BELIEVE THE FORECASTS
AND HE MAY WELL DECIDE TO HOLD OUT FOR SEVERAL MONTHS IN
THE HOPE THAT CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES, BOTH POLITICAL AND
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MILITARY WILL GIVE HIM ROOM FOR MANEUVER WHEN THE REAL
NEGOTIATION BEGINS. ON THE OTHER HAND MR. VORSTER
APPEARED DETERMINED TO SEE HOW MR. CARTER'S NEW ADMINIS-
TRATION IN AMERICA WILL TOWARD HIS REGIME BEFORE
COMMITTING HIMSELF TO A NEW ROUND OF PRESSURE.
WHAT MR. VORSTER WILL LOOK FOR IS NOT MATERIAL SUP-
PORT WHICH HE NEVER GOT IN ANY INCREASED FORM FROM DR.
KISSINGER ANYWAY, NOR EVEN FOR ANY PRIVATE ENCOURAGEMENT

FROM WASHINGTON, BUT MORE PEHAPS A REASSURANCE THAT THE
FLOW OF AMERICAN INVESTMENTS INTO STUTH AFRICA WILL NOT
BE EISRUPTED."

NOTE BY OC/T: LONDON 20245 (SEC 1 OF 2). MESSAGE GARBLED
THROUGHOUT. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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5. FINANCIAL TIMES EDITORIAL: "THE ONE REALLY SIGNIFI-
CANT SHIFT THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE SINCE THE GENEVA TALKS
OPENED HAS BEEN IN THE RELATIVE ROLES BEING ASSUMED BY
THE U.S. AND BRITAIN. DR. HENRY KISSINGER PLAYED A
CRUCIAL PART IN PRECIPITATING THE HOLDING OF THE NEGO-
TIATIONS, BUT WHILE THE U.S. WILL NO DOUBT CONTINUE,
EVEN UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION OF MR. JIMMY CARTER, TO
TAKE A CLOSE AND ACTIVE INTEREST IN THE RHODESIA AFFAIR,
IT IS FROM NOW ON MORE LIKELY TO BE AS A FRIEND OF THE
COURT THAN AS A CENTRAL PARTICIPANT.
BY CONTRAST, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED A LONG

WAY TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE DEMAND PUT FORWARD BY ALL THE BLACK DELEGATIONS, THAT THE U.K. HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION TO FULL INDEPENDENCE.... EVEN IF THE GENEVA TALKS WERE TO END IN AGREEMENT, THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD PROVIDE LIMITLESS OPPORTUNITIES FOR DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS, AND THE ROLE OF A BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE COULD ONLY BE UNCLASSIFIED

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UNGRATEFUL. BUT IF IT IS ACCEPTED THAT THE ONLY CONTRIBUTION BRITAIN CAN MAKE IS THAT OF A MORAL ARBITRATOR, IT SHOULD ALSO BE ACCEPTED THAT HIS CONTRIBUTION CAN PROVE EFFECTIVE ONLY IF BOTH BLACK AND WHITE IN RHODESIA GENUINELY WANT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT."

6. DAILY TELEGRAPH CORRESPONDENT DAVID ADAMSON IN GENEVA: "SOME DELEGATES LEFT GENEVA UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT MR. SMITH NOW SIMPLY WANTS A SETTLEMENT AND HAS RECOGNIZED THE KISSINGER PACKAGE OF FIVE POINTS IS NO LONGER FEASIBLE. HOWEVER, MR. SMITH DID LEAVE GENEVA SAYING THAT IF THE PACKAGE WAS ABANDONED, HE WOULD NO LONGER BE COMMITTED TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE RHODESIANS ARE NOW INCLINED TO ACCEPT BRITISH CONTROL OF THE PORTFOLIOS OF DEFENSE AND LAW AND ORDER IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, PROVIDED THEY ARE GIVEN FINANCE. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT MR. SMITH WILL RESIGN PROVIDED THE AGREEMENT AND THE AID PROGRAM WHICH IS BEING WORKED OUT BY BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES IS SATISFACTORY. ALTHOUGH BRITISH THINKING ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS NECESSARILY FAR FROM CLEAR, IT APPEARS TO ENVISAGE A BRITISH EXECUTIVE GOVERNOR WITH STRONG POWERS. IT WOULD POSSIBLY COVER DEFENSE, AND ESTABLISH SOME FORM OF POWER-SHARING OR ALTERNATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS RIVALS FOR THE PREMIERSHIP, AND A UNICAMERAL RATHER THAN BICAMERAL SYSTEM."

ARMSTRONG

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